

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /078 W  
-----070377 151011Z /11

O 150910Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8920  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILL IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AHNMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 218  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 2552

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

PARIS AND LONDON FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: LUANDA SUMMIT RESULTS: ODDS AND ENDS

REF: A) USUN 2427, B) CAPE TOWN 1185, C) GABORONE 1811

1. WE CONCUR WITH VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS VIEW THAT BEFORE OPENING  
SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON FINALIZING OUR OWN  
POSITION ON NEXT STEPS FOR NAMIBIA, WE SHOULD CHECK OUT SWAPO'S  
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POSITION THOROUGHLY -- WITH SWAPO.

2. IN DOING SO, HOWEVER, WE WOULD DOUBT WISDOM OF RAISING OFF-  
SHORE ISLAND QUESTION EITHER WITH SWAPO OR WITH SOUTH AFRICA  
(REF B, PARA 8). CHONA IS SOLE SOURCE ON THIS. NYERERE'S  
FAILURE TO MENTION IT COULD BE SIMPLY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT  
BELIEVE IT OF IMPORTANCE. WHY STIR UP HORNET'S NEST?

3. ON WALVIS BAY, WE DO NOT THINK TOO MUCH EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED ON PHRASE "AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA". THIS HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL AFRICAN USAGE. THE SECURITY COUNCIL STATEMENT AS WE NOW ENVISAGE IT -- OR SOMETHING VERY LIKE IT -- MAY WELL BE SUFFICIENT. IN SUM, THIS IS NO MORE AN ISSUE NOW THAN IT WAS BEFORE LUANDA.

4. AS TO TROOP LOCATIONS, WE WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF RENEGOTIATION DISMISSED OUT OF HAND. SHORT OF THIS, HOWEVER, THE MOST PROMISING APPROACH WOULD BE AN EFFORT TO GET SOUTH AFRICA TO FOREGO OSHIVELO. THE OTHER PALLIATIVES MENTIONED IN OPTION II OF USUN 2427 (E.G., UN MONITORING OF SOUTH AFRICAN EQUIPMENT AND AIR MOVEMENTS) DO NOT STRIKE US AS LIKELY TO HAVE MUCH IMPACT.

5. THE IDEA OF A LARGER UN FORCE TO NEUTRALIZE PRESENTLY PROPOSED SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE (REF A, PARA 2(2)D AND REF C, PARA 2) DOES NOT SEEM PARTICULARLY PROMISING EITHER, ESPECIALLY AS THE SUGGESTION THAT IT MIGHT BE COMES FROM MODERATE BATSWANANS WHOSE MANDATE TO REPRESENT THE FRONT LINE AND SWAPO IS LESS STRONG THAN NYERERE'S. BESIDES, THE AFRICANS HAVE ALWAYS INSISTED -- AND WE HAVE CONCURRED -- ON MAXIMUM UN RESENCE.

6. A FINAL PSYCHOLOGICAL NOTE: WHILE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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TRY TO DEAL WITH AFRICAN DEMANDS ON THE BASIS OF THE REAL FEARS OR PROBLEMS THEY MAY REPRESENT, WE SHOULD ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE MAY BE A PUNITIVE ELEMENT IN THE AFRICAN POSITION ON TROOP LOCATIONS WHICH WILL NOT LEND ITSELF READILY TO COMPROMISE ON THE BASIS OF REASON. THAT IS TO SUGGEST THAT SWAPO AND THE OTHER AFRICANS MAY BE DETERMINED TO PUNISH SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE CASSINGA RAID IN THE ONLY WAY THEY HAVE ANY CHANCE OF DOING OS.

7. IN SUM, THERE PROBABLY IS SOME GIVE IN THE POSITION PRESENTED BY NYERERE, BUT BOTH SWAPO AND THE FRONT LINE ARE LIKELY TO INSIST ON EXTRACTING SOME SIGNIFICANT, VISIBLE, ADDITIONAL CONCESSION BEFORE AGREEING TO THE WESTER FIVE PROPOSALS.

8. SECTO 7008, SECTO 7010 AND USUN 2459 RECEIVED SUBSEQUENT TO DRAFTING OF ABOVE. BELIEVE OUR COMMENTS REMAIN VALID, BUT WISH RAISE QUESTION ON THRUST OF OUR POLICY TO GO RAPIDLY TO UNSC AND FORCE FRONT LINE TO TAKE POSITION ON SWAPO.

9. NYERERE HAS OPINED IN PAST THAT WE MIGHT EVENTUALLY HAVE TO GO TO SC WITHOUT AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, WHAT FRONT LINE WOULD DO IN SUCH A CASE IS OPEN QUESTION AT THE MOMENT, ESPECIALLY IF

WESTERN PROPOSAL DID NOT INCLUDE NEW VISIBLE CONCESSION IN RESPONSE TO CASSINGA RAID. IF WE WENT TO SC AND DID NOT GET FRONT LINE SUPPORT, THINGS WOULD BE IN A SHAMBLES. ADDITIONALLY, NYERERE'S IMAGE HAS LONG BEEN ONE OF WESTERN FIVE AND FRONT LINE WORKING TOGETHER TO GET SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO TO AGREE. TO PUT FRONT LINE IN POSITION OF PROTAGONIST WHICH HAS TO BE PUSHED INTO POSITION WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY SOUR CLIMATE OF ANY FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

10. WE HEARTILY APPROVE OF MESSAGE TO NYERERE INDICATING N.Y. CONTRACT GROUP PREPARED MEET PROMPTLY WITH SWAPO IN LUANDA (SECTO 7010). UK HIGH COMMISSIONER HERE IS PASSING WORD TO TANGOV THAT MESSAGE FROM FIVE IS COMING SHORTLY (USUN 2459).  
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SPAIN

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**To:** STATE USUN NEW YORK  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
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